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mitting it to drop to the ground. If a player at last allows it to fall, it is not picked up, but Rąrą'k throws a new one into the ring until all the shuttlecocks are forfeited.

After midnight the men of both rainy season moieties assemble by two fires in the plaza, whither a man named Kái brings them a bundle of unfeathered arrows with balls of maize husk covering their points (pl. 16, *a*). The players step up in pairs (so as to represent in each case both moieties) and try to hit each other with the arrows, which they throw with their hands.

In 1929, during my first visit, when I had not yet come to understand anything of the ceremonial, I had the following experience. An Indian wishing to show me a special favor had some sweet potatoes brought from the plantation for my delectation before the harvest time had been officially announced. In my innocence I eulogized the generous donor before the elders in the plaza, but at once noted the silent, but significant glances passed among them. The donor was thus placed in an ambiguous position and incurred censure, though in deference to me this was not carried too far. However, the culprit was obliged to hurry to the plaza with a bowlful of baked sweet potatoes for the elders, who consumed them and declared the crop ready for harvesting. Similarly I observed that they received two watermelons when the harvest for these fruits was opened.

Another ceremony, hõčwa (= pointed leaf, i.e., sweet potato), is devoted to the sweet potatoes. It always takes place when these plants produce their vines, immediately preceding the ceremony just described of opening the maize harvest. The performers, numbering some twenty, are organized like the festive organizations, but their activities are confined to this single annual appearance at the hõčwa. As in these other societies, membership is inherited matrilineally with the personal name. The lodge is situated on the north side of the eastern half of the village circle. Like the other societies, this, too, has a leader, the hõčwakédeti (grandfather of the hõčwa). He wears hanging down the nape of his neck from a neck cord a feather from the tail of a red arara. The present incumbent is the chief Hąktokót, but the title hõčwa itself belongs to the bearer of the name Rąrą'k, who in this capacity wears falcon down on his body and has a little whistle of Mataco type.[108] The participants also include a precentor and two girl auxiliaries.

The members paint the entire body with white clay, and their faces are marked with two obtuse-angled parallel lines traced with the finger tips with the same pigment. The apex of one of these angles is on the forehead, while its sides extend over the temples; the point of the other angle is on the tip of the nose and its sides are drawn across the cheeks.

The hõčwa actor proper is decorated at sunset. At nightfall a big fire is kindled in the plaza, where the precentor remains waiting. Finally the hõčwa leaves his maternal home and walks to the plaza, where the precentor begins singing to the accompaniment of a rattle, while the hõčwa, with his pinčwę'ipey behind him, sounds his whistle. Thereupon the hõčwakédeti steps out of his maternal house, dances toward the plaza, but immediately returns in order to bring with him the entire membership, who now dance in the plaza with outstretched arms.

Toward midnight all the women and girls come out of their houses and range themselves in groups at the opening of the radial paths leading from their maternal homes to the plaza. The hõčwa march round the plaza from group to group, singing before each of them.

The object of this ceremony is to ensure for each extended family an adequate supply of sweet potatoes, corresponding to the number of its female members.

[108] Izikowitz, Musical Instruments, 333.

III. SOCIAL LIFE

Social Units

The units with which Rąmkõ'kamekra individuals may be affiliated are manifold. They include (a) the individual family; (b) the matrilineal extended family; (c) matrilineal exogamous moieties; (d) nonexogamous rainy season moieties; (e) the plaza groups; (f) the plaza moieties; (g) the age classes; (h) the age-class moieties; (i) six men's societies.

Of these, the first four embrace both sexes, the remainder only men except that most of the primarily masculine organizations have each two girl associates. Membership in the matrilineal extended family and the exogamous moieties is hereditary; in the rainy season moieties, the plaza groups, and the plaza moieties it is hereditary in the sense that it hinges on the bearing of certain names transmitted from an older kinsman. An age class is constituted by joint initiation into adult status. Admission into the Clown society depends on one's talent for buffoonery; into the other societies a male enters by virtue of his names, which determine affiliation of an individual with two of the five organizations.

To the social bonds listed above may be added those involving formalized friendship; these, too, are largely connected with name transference.

Finally, there is an honorific order of hąmrén, which includes both sexes.

Since membership in a number of the units listed above depends on personal names, it seems well to premise some data on their acquisition and their relationship with the units in question.

Names

Every masculine or feminine name belongs to one of the rainy season moieties—kạ'makra and atụ'kmakra. Every masculine name belongs to one of the six plaza groups, Giant Snake, Bat, Carrion Vulture (eastern) and Armadillo, Dwarf Parrot, Alien Tribe (western); only two members of the female sex, the pepyé associates, belong to a plaza group, invariably to the Bats and the Dwarf Parrots. Every masculine name involves affiliation with two festive societies—either the Falcons and Jaguars (or the kõkrị't), or the Ducks and Agoutis; the girl associates of these organizations serve only for one ceremonial period.

Of the ten name sets none coincides with any other. The principle for their composition is not clear. Membership in the Clowns' organization and the tąmhạ'k is independent of names borne.

A number of masculine as well as feminine names are paired, establishing a formalized friendship, which, however, may be achieved in other ways.

Every individual, irrespective of sex, successively acquires from two to eight names. As a rule, the entire set borne by an individual is linked with a single one of the units mentioned above. In exceptional instances an individual receives a name that determines a change in one or more of the unit types.

The following is a noteworthy case. Hiino and his maternal uncle Yua (=Hiino) used to belong to the Bats (eastern plaza group), the atụ'kmakra (rainy season moiety), and the Falcon-kõkrị't pair of societies. At the time of Hiino's pepyé initiation, it devolved on his plaza group to erect for him a hut for seclusion, its yard, and a latrine, but its members limited their efforts to building the hut. This so angered Yua that he left his eastern plaza group and joined the Armadillos (western). Henceforth the names Yua and Hiino no longer belong to the Bat, but to the Armadillo series. However, both men retained membership in the atụ'kmakra and the Falcon-kõkrị't organizations.

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Names are transferred to boys through the matrilineal line, to girls through the patrilineal line. This contrasts with Apinayé usage, by which names are transferred from maternal uncle to sister's son and from maternal aunt to sister's daughter.[39] Normally the Canella name passes on to the next younger generation, but often one or even two generations are skipped and occasionally when the age difference is considerable the transfer may take place within a generation. The *ideal* arrangement is to have a maternal uncle convey his names to his nephew while the paternal aunt transfers hers to her niece. But of twenty-eight cases genealogically traced only five strictly conformed to this norm. The deviations result at least in part from the insistence on reciprocity. Unless the uncle has a daughter to whom his sister could pass on her own names, she would not permit the transfer of names to her son. Instead she would look for a more remote kinsman, with whom a *reciprocal* transfer could be arranged. The degree of kinship is often very remote in these name transfers. Adopted kindred are reckoned exactly as though they were blood kin in these [597] negotiations. Pụkin transferred her name to the daughter of her adoptive brother, Hąktõkót; Tempe gave his to the son of his adoptive sister, Terekwẹ'i.

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Copaternity has its effect in this respect. At Patkwei's birth her mother Kopkré indicated not only her husband, but also Hukraino as the infant's father because he had had extramarital relations with her during pregnancy. Accordingly both observed the couvade, and each considers himself Patkwei's father. In consequence Patkwei is the sister of Hukraino's legal son, Kroyamri, and passed on her name to his daughter, while Kroyamri gave *his* name to Patkwei's son. Similarly, at Pukara's birth, both Kokcet, her mother's husband, and Kokanara, who had been her paramour, kept the couvade. Pukara thus became the sister of Kokanara's son. Ropką', and passed her name on to his daughter.

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As a rule a single donor transfers his names to a single recipient. But if the donor dies before passing on all his names, another person takes his place, now transferring his own names to the recipient. In this fashion several persons change their membership in the plaza groups or rainy season moieties or both. If an individual owns names of different sets, he almost always transfers those of one set to one recipient, the others to a second person. The recipient thus acquires once more names belonging together. A typical sample of this process is furnished by Yoro, who owned eight names belonging to three plaza groups and both rainy season moieties. He thus distributed them among four relatives:

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Names	Plaza groups (w., western; e., eastern)	Rainy season moiety	Relatives
Yõ'ro	Dwarf Parrot (w)	atą'k	1
Ropką'	Ditto	atą'k	1
Põnipõ'k	Ditto	atą'k	2
Pąrkaką'	Alien Tribe (w)	ką'	3
Hąktõkót	Giant Snake (e)	ką'	4
Tepkakrõ'	Ditto	ką'	4
Tepnót	Ditto	ką'	4
Vaurẽ'	Ditto	ką'	4

I found no case in which the same donor passed on ką' and atą'k names to the same kinsman; on the other hand, in three instances the same person passed on

[39] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 22.

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the names of different plaza groups—in one case, even of distinct plaza moieties—to the same recipient.

Of twenty males, only four acquired their names from several donors. On the other hand, half of an equal number of females obtained theirs in this fashion, though only a single case involved a change of the rainy season moiety.

The woman numbered 20 below obtained the name Kra'napan, by which she is generally known, from the neighboring Krẽyé of Bacabal. This name is not to be transferred.

The list on pages 80, 81, and 82 gives the name series of twenty men and of twenty women with plaza group and rainy season moiety affiliations. Those names transferred by a single person are bracketed.

Some additional facts concerning name transference are given below.

Mĩkrõ'-Kapẽrtụ'k-Koprekré transferred his first name to the son of his sister's daughter. He hoped to pass on his other names to two other great-nephews, but had only one other, Čikaprõ, who had already received a name from another kinsman. After his great-uncle's death Mĩkrõ' junior claimed the two remaining names without himself using them, but with the prerogative of transferring them.

Terekwẹ'i-Piekóm passed on her first name to her paternal grandfather's daughter's son's daughter and died before being able to transfer the second. Terekwẹ'i junior claims the name Piekóm, but it must die with her because her brother's daughters have already all received names from other kinswomen.

Wakái did not pass his name on to his sister's son because he had no daughter on whom his sister Piekạ'ra might bestow her names.

Yauččkẹ' did not transfer her name to her brother's daughter because she died before her niece's birth.

Exogamous Moieties

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Each of these moieties occupies one-half of the village—the kọ'ikateye (kọ'i = east, hence: those of the east) the eastern part of the circle, the harã'kateye (harã = west, hence: those of the west) the western part, which in Ponto was somewhat larger. The children all belong to the mother's moiety. Although about a third of contemporary marriages are within the same moiety and the younger generation in part even deny the reality of the exogamous rule, the older people deprecate such shamelessness and the preponderance of exogamous unions among them proves that the principle survived until not very long ago.

The moieties are altogether equal in rank; specifically, the eastern moiety is in no way superior. Unlike the Šerénte equivalents the Canella units are not associated with sun and moon. Further, members are not distinguished by any external badges, and there is no trace of totemism.

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The moieties under discussion centered solely in the maintenance of exogamy; their ceremonial significance is practically nil. Their decadence is probably due not so much to Neobrazilian influence or the diminishing population as to the pronounced predilection of the Canella for special dual divisions in connection with ceremonial. Comparison with the organization of other tribes suggests that the functions now allotted to the rainy season and the plaza moieties, respectively, were formerly associated with the *exogamous* moieties. The creation of independent dual divisions for these purposes inevitably stripped the exogamous halves of much of their importance.

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Snethlage erroneously ascribes a separate chief to each of the moieties and wrongly regards the age classes as their subdivisions, whereas any one age class embraces members of both moieties. It is not true that the first and the second chiefs

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Names	Plaza group (w., western; e., eastern)	Rainy season moiety
1. Korã	Alien Tribe (w.)	kạ′
Põkon	Ditto	kạ′
Kačêkúm	Ditto	kạ′
2. Čarča	Armadillo (w.)	atụ′k
Rõtjt	Ditto	atụ′k
3. Ku′kóp	Carrion Vulture (e.)	kạ′
Pepkén	Ditto	kạ′
Hạpít	Ditto	kạ′
Pạnatêk	Ditto	kạ′
4. Kõrêk	Dwarf Parrot (w.)	kạ′
Katụ′pre	Ditto	kạ′
5. Pạrkõ	Dwarf Parrot (w.)	atụ′k
Katạm	Ditto	atụ′k
6. Kara′hí	Carrion Vulture (e.)	kạ′
Huyipri	Ditto	atụ′k
7. Tunko	Carrion Vulture (e.)	kạ′
Čepkạ	Ditto	kạ′
Krạmpọdn	Ditto	kạ′
8. Yõ′ro	Dwarf Parrot (w.)	atụ′k
Ropkạ′	Ditto	atụ′k
Põnipõ′k	Ditto	atụ′k
Pạrkačạ′	Alien Tribe (w.)	kạ′
Hạktõkót	Giant Snake (e.)	kạ′
Tepkakrõ′	Ditto	kạ′
Tepnót	Ditto	kạ′
Vaurẽ′	Ditto	kạ′
9. Yõ′ro	Dwarf Parrot (w.)	atụ′k
Ropkạ′	Ditto	atụ′k
10. Hạktõkót	Giant Snake (e.)	kạ′
Tepkakrõ′	Ditto	kạ′
Tepnót	Ditto	kạ′
Vaurẽ′	Ditto	kạ′
11. Ku′kạ′	Alien Tribe (w.)	atụ′k
Hõyavẽ′n	Ditto	atụ′k
Horkučạ	Ditto	atụ′k
12. Vi′vi	Carrion Vulture (e.)	kạ′
Nõ	Ditto	kạ′
13. Mĩkrõ′	Alien Tribe (w.)	atụ′k
Kopkré	Ditto	atụ′k
Kapẽrtụ′k	Armadillo (w.)	atụ′k

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MALES—(*Continued*)

Names	Plum group (w., western; e., eastern)	Rainy season moiety
14. Koipō'ro	Alien Tribe (w.)	atų'k
Akąrčą	Dwarf Parrot (w.)	atų'k
15. Mĩkrō'	Alien Tribe (w.)	atų'k
Koipō'ro	Ditto	atų'k
16. Rõrehõ	Carrion Vulture (e.)	atų'k
Ką'kúru	Ditto	atų'k
17. Krõtõ'	Dwarf Parrot (w.)	atų'k
Nyukrardn	Ditto	atų'k
18. Kenkré	Alien Tribe (w.)	atų'k
Haką'	Bat (e.)	atų'k
Pjtó	Carrion Vulture (e.)	atų'k
19. Ha'pré	Dwarf Parrot (w.)	atų'k
Yatrą'e	Bat (e.)	ką'
20. Parkré	Bat (e.)	ką'
Čątá	Ditto	ką'
Vẽnyo	Ditto	ką'

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FEMALES

Names	Rainy season moiety	Names	Rainy season moiety
1. Kanẽrkwéi	ką'	8. Ho'ti	ką'
Ha'katą'i	ką'	Kahẽrkwę'i	ką'
2. Partųk	ką'	9. Krąmpéy	atų'k
Wakę'	ką'	Te'hõk	atų'k
Nyõčédn	ką'	10. Pųkín	atų'k
3. Murvá	atų'k	Prjrẽ	atų'k
Prjkwę'i	atų'k	Ko'hõk	atų'k
4. Purãkwéi	ką'	11. Terekwę'i	atų'k
Yõčédn	ką'	Mĩkwéi	atų'k
5. Kąyarí	ką'	Krãęą	atų'k
Kakrõ'	ką'	12. Põké	atų'k
Kukrãyét	ką'	Pipų'n	atų'k
6. Koté	ką'	Kačẽkwę'i	atų'k
Krowčẽá	ką'	Põhjkwę'i	atų'k
7. Mĩkwéi	atų'k	13. Nyunkré	ką'
Kąryapą'	atų'k	Konkré	ką'

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FEMALES

Names	Rainy season moiety	Names	Rainy season moiety
14. Kapẽrkwę'ĩ	kꞃ'	19. Nyõkĩ	kꞃ'
Kꞃyarĩ	kꞃ'	Paõõdn	kꞃ'
		Rekwę'ĩ	kꞃ'
15. Kꞃyapꞃ	atꞃ'k	Rõtĩ	kꞃ'
Nyõbꞃnkré	atꞃ'k		
		20. Nyõ'hoecĩ	kꞃ'
16. Kõrẽ'dn	atꞃ'k	Hakatꞃ'ĩ	kꞃ'
Yꞃtkró	atꞃ'k	Krꞃ'napꞃ'n	kꞃ'
Kotẽ	atꞃ'k	Tekurꞃ'	kꞃ'
		Yekutá	kꞃ'
17. Ikurẽ	atꞃ'k	Kahẽrkwę'ĩ	kꞃ'
Teprẽ	kꞃ'	Pahĩk	kꞃ'
Yoõꞃ'n	kꞃ'		
18. Yõkrꞃnkré	kꞃ'		
Teprẽ	kꞃ'		

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of Ponto represent complementary exogamous units for they happen to be brothers. Nor can I understand the same author's report of a dispute over trespass between two eminent men of different moieties, for the land is not the property of the moieties, but of the tribe, that is, of the village community. Finally, the assertion that each moiety is "under the supreme rule of the commandant of its age class" reveals a basic misunderstanding.[307]

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While the matrilineal moieties of the Apinayé do not regulate marriage,[308] comparable organizations occur in other parts of Brazil. According to a provisional statement of Claude Lévi-Strauss's researches, the Tupí of the Machado River have exogamous patrilineal moieties coupled with a double division in age classes.[309] The Šerénte have exogamous patrilineal moieties associated with north and south and subdivided into clans localized in the village.[310] The Eastern Bororó also have a southern and northern moiety, but with maternal descent; each embraces seven localized clans.[311] The Tukuna have patrilineal moieties with fifteen and twenty-one clans, none of them localized.[312] The Parintintin also have unlocalized patrilineal moieties.[313] The patrilineal moieties of the Mundurucú are split up into nineteen and fifteen clans, respectively.[314] Tembé Indians of the Rio Acará interviewed by Estevão de Oliveira made statements suggesting patrilineal localized moieties (east and west).

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According to my own investigations, the Kaingang proper trace their descent from two heroes, Kamé and Kanyerú, associated with patrilineal, unlocalized moieties having distinctive decorative paint. The Kamé moiety is characterized by a pattern of lines, its complement by dotted decoration. Further, each moiety is subdivided into at least three classes, which modify the moiety designs: the paí apply

[307] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 167–169.
[308] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 21.
[309] Métraux, 34.
[310] Nimuendajú and Lowie, Associations of Šerénte, 408 *et seq.*
[311] Colbacchini, 1–30. Cf. Lévi-Strauss, 269–304.
[312] Nimuendajú, Idiomas, 188.
[313] *Idem.*, The Gamella, 225.
[314] P. Kruse, 18, 19.

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The members of a house community of the type described are obviously closer to one another than to outsiders at large, but they fail to constitute a definite economic unit among the Timbira. The plantations of the residents are ordinarily in juxtaposition, but every married woman has her own plots and the house community as such has no property apart from the domicile.

However, the entire group will safeguard the individual's rights against any injustice from the outside. On one occasion, for example, a man treated his wife badly and deserted her, whereupon her extended family met for prolix deliberations and tried to force the renegade to pay an indemnity. In this sense the safety of the individual rests on his affiliation with the major family, and during disputes one often hears such threats as: "I have a large body of kindred." To tell a man to his face that he lacks kin is an affront.

On the other hand, the house community plays not the slightest role in ceremonial. Further it lacks a genuine head. Theoretically the grandmother should occupy that position, but this obtains in a small minority of cases because with increasing age her daughters grow dominant. Actually the main part devolves on some matrilineal grandfather or uncle, who may not even live in the house. A matriarchate and the enslavement of women are notions equally foreign to the Timbira.

Snethlage has correctly grasped the nature of this unit.[176]

Rainy Season Moieties[177]

During the meipimrą'k period, that is, from September to April—in other words, roughly during the rainy season—there are no major festivals. It is accompanied by a distinctive dual division which coincides with neither the exogamous moieties, nor the plaza moieties, nor the age-class moieties—notwithstanding the fact that it, too, is connected with the antithesis of east and west. The two groups are called ką'makra and atų'kmakra, that is, people (kra) of the plaza (ką') and people from without (atų'k). The Indians are unable to explain these designations. The female members are termed ką'kwęiye and atų'kkwęiye.

All of nature is antithetically divided between the two groups, as indicated by the following incomplete scheme.

kąmakra		atų'makra	
East	Fire	West	Firewood
Sun	Earth	Moon	Water
Day	Red color	Night	Black color
Dry season		Rainy season	

This dichotomy does not involve the opposition of the sexes, but extends to animals and plants: all species that are black or show marked black coloring fall into the atų'k category; all those conspicuously red or white are ką'. Maize and manioc are ką', the sweet potato and cucurbit atų'k; yams are, according to the species, divided up between the two groups. The Indians justify the allocation of the celestial bodies by referring to the sun's rising in the east and to the new moon's in the west.

Affiliation with a rainy season moiety hinges on a person's names, which inevitably place him in one or the other category. The name sets are transferred by the same principle that determines allocation to a plaza group; a man transfers his

[176] Meine Reise, 464, Nordostbras. Ind., 170.

[177] It may in the future prove useful in ethnological literature to call "nonexogamous" moieties "agamic" or "agamous." These terms, already in vogue among biologists, would better designate moieties that are neither exogamous nor endogamous. R. H. L.

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553 names to a sister's son, a woman to her brother's daughter. However, the sets of the
616 kẹ́'makra and the atụ́'kmakra differ from those of the plaza groups, as well as from
611 those hereditary within an exogamous moiety. Actually, only five out of twenty-eight cases genealogically examined literally conformed to the ideal pattern. In practice, one generation, or even two, may be skipped in favor of a younger kinsman; and occasionally there is a transfer within the same generation if the individuals affected are separated by a considerable disparity of age. The deviations from the ideal scheme are connected with a principle of reciprocity already explained (p. 78).

In the process of name transference a person may change his rainy season moiety affiliation. A paternal aunt had transferred to her brother's daughter the kẹ́' name Kentapí, but died before being able to convey her other names to the girl. As a result another patrilineal kinswoman took the deceased aunt's place; but she was atụ́'k, hence the first name, Nyõkí, which she conveyed to the girl automatically made the niece an atụ́'kkwẹiye.

616 The moieties now under discussion differ in decorative paint. The kẹ́'makra are
302 distinguished by a red angle whose apex lies at the upper end of the breastbone while the sides terminate on the shoulders; furthermore, by horizontal black lines on the body and limbs. The atụ́'kmakra lack the angle, and substitute vertical black lines.

616 The kẹ́' battle cry is "wa-wa-wa!" that of the atụ́'kmakra "kẹ-kẹ-kẹ!" The birth
851 of a new kẹ́' or atụ́'k boy is thus heralded by the maternal uncle or grandmother's brother who is to pass on his names to the infant: this man steps outside the door and calls loudly the characteristic rainy season cry.

616 Each group is headed by a commandant appointed by the council, and his mother's house becomes the place of assembly for the membership. The kẹ́' headman bears the title of ikẹ́'rkate (kẹ́'ra = ready), that is, he who is ready; the atụ́'k counterpart is called kačṹnkate, a term that has remained untranslatable.

616 The practical significance of this dichotomy is restricted to the log races and
527 hunting trips of the meipimrẹ́'k period. In the races the male members of the opposing halves—in one instance, the women too—constitute the teams. A race takes place the very first day after the close of the ceremonial period (see p. 168). Not until after this race are the men of the two groups properly divided in the plaza, where all sit down in a circle, whose eastern half is occupied by the kẹ́'makra, while the atụ́'kmakra are on the western side. For the songs the best kẹ́' log racer beats time with his coiled-up rattle girdle.

Then follow the log races, but in a very different manner from the first one just described. At first the kẹ́'makra as challengers make the logs, the first pair not exceeding about 12 cm. in diameter and a somewhat lesser length. With each successive race the size rapidly increases until after about a fortnight the normal dimensions are attained, that is, about 50 cm. in diameter and 1 m. in length. The first pair of the kẹ́'makra has red longitudinal lines on the surface and on each terminal plane there is a concentric red patch, whereas the atụ́'k equivalent has a wide diametric black stripe.

As soon as the kẹ́' logs have attained normal size the challenging henceforth devolves on the atụ́'kmakra until the close of the rainy season. The first atụ́'k pair is, if possible, even of lesser diameter than the first kẹ́' logs, but the length is greater, being close to 1 m. from the start. The decorative painting of the initial atụ́'k pair is as described above.

000 Both groups, including female members, several times join in hunting trips

Both groups, including female members, several times join in hunting trips
616 224 834 837 during which the hunters abstain from sex relations, but subsequently the groups exchange their women. If the hunt falls in the period of kạ́'makra log making, the members of this group give their opponents only a small piece of every beast killed, but supplement the present with powder, a few arrows, a bow, and the knife used for cutting up the game. The atụ'kmakra act correspondingly during the period of *their* races. During the atụ'k period the hunters return in a race with considerably hollowed-out logs.

616 527 After the last atụ'k race, which closes the meipimrạ'k season, the women of each group prepare meat pies with green maize, which is already available then, and distribute them among the membership.

616 527 604 After the beginning of the maize harvest, at the very close of the meipimrạ'k period, the mepatạmẽwẹ'pupú (viewing of sisters' sons) ceremony takes place. The atụ'k of both sexes bring new fruits from the plots and assemble outside the village, where part of the crop is cooked. Every man who has a sister's son is standing beside him and thus they march to the plaza, where the red-painted kạ́'makra men with *their* sisters' sons are expecting them, standing in a row. The atụ'k deposit their prepared fruits before their opponents; finally one of them appears with an armful of maize cobs, which he throws contemptuously at the feet of the kạ́'makra men. While this is going on, each group lands the great number and good appearance of their nephews while ridiculing their opponents'. This ceremony usually closes the meipimrạ'k season.

616 575 Although the inauguration of the maize harvest and the appearance of the hõ̃cwá society fall within this period, they are not associated with the rainy season moieties.

616 881 On the other hand, this bisection of the tribe seems to play a part in the second initiation phase, that is, during the vụ'tẹ́' season. Five weeks after the beginning of their seclusion the novices parade round the boulevard until they reach the seclusion yard of the eastern class leader. During this procession they were shielded from view by large mat shields. The novices of atụ'k affiliation left the seclusion yard at nightfall in order to return each to his own hut of seclusion "for night belongs to the atụ'k." On the other hand, those belonging to the kạ́'makra did not leave before daybreak "because daytime belongs to the kạ́'makra." On the day that terminates their seclusion the youths appeared painted from head to foot with the *yellow* urucú pigment (p. 53). On this background they were painted, according to their affiliation, with vertical or horizontal lines in red urucú.

[302]

616 561 Further, I noted that in the races intervening between the lifting of their own and of their first commandant's seclusion the novices bore the black lines characteristic of the kạ́' and atụ'k, respectively. Subsequently, however, only the age-class grouping made itself perceptible.

616 174 171 The dual division discussed in this section suggests even more strongly than that of the plaza groups a secondary allotment of functions originally vested in the exogamous moieties. It seems highly probable that anciently the kạ́'makra were identical with the eastern, the atụ'kmakra with the western moiety, the former enjoying ceremonial ascendancy during the dry season, the latter during the rainy season. Only as the age classes with the vụ'tẹ́' system (p. 92) gained in importance, the kạ́'makra were pushed from the ceremonial of the dry season into the opening weeks of the rainy period. The dichotomy of nature associated at Ponto with the rainy season moieties is a feature of the exogamous moiety system of other tribes. This holds for the Kaingang I saw in the toldos of the Ivahy region (state of Paraná) in 1912–13: Kamé, the ancestor of one of their moieties, was described

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as slow-moving, perseverant, and characterized by decorative painted lines; Kanyurú as nimble, inconstant, and painted with dots. All of nature was classified according to these criteria—the changing, spotted moon is Kányurú; the sun, Kamé, etc.

Plaza Groups and Moieties

A peculiar organization, unintelligible to me in its present form, is that of the double trio of menkąčą′ groups. The term may be rendered "where or how the people stand in the plaza"; me(n) is a personal prefix, ką designates the plaza, and the suffix čą defines the place, manner, or instrument of a thing or action.

The division applies only to males, each of the six groups embracing all the bearers of a definite series of masculine names, which a boy gets by transfer from

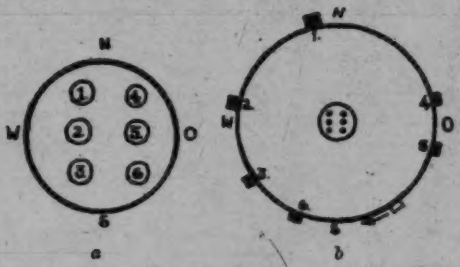

Fig. 7. *a*. Position of plaza groups: 1, Armadillo; 2, Dwarf Parrot; 3, Alien Tribe; 4, Giant Snake; 5, Bat; 6, Carrion Vulture. *b*. Position of plaza group assembly houses.

a maternal uncle. The grouping into eastern (kǫ′irumenkąčą, from kǫ̃′irum, in the east) and western (harą′rumenkąčą, from harą′rum, in the west) plaza halves has nothing to do with the exogamous moiety scheme, hence blood brothers and parallel cousins may belong to distinct plaza groups.

The scheme is as follows:

kǫ′irumenkąčą (eastern)	harą′rumenkąčą (western)
1. hąka, Giant Snake	aučét, Armadillo
2. čepre, Bat	kédre, Dwarf Parrot
3. čõdn, Carrion Vulture	kupẽ, Alien Tribe

Each group has both a fixed station in the plaza and a house of assembly whose position at the periphery roughly corresponds to that site in the plaza (fig. 7). However, during the pepyé festival of 1932 the meeting place of the eastern čõdn had been transposed to the western half of the circumference. The reason given for this exception was that the leader (mamkyẽ′ti) of the pepyé, who belonged to the čõdn, was to be painted in his maternal home according to the general usage applying to these officers, and that house was situated on the west side. For his sake, accordingly, the meeting place of the group itself was shifted to that side.

The purely ceremonial main functions of these groups are exercised at the initiation festivals. They set in with the very beginning of the first phase—the capture of the prospective initiates. Two specially appointed "catchers" bring the boys out of their maternal homes, alternately leading a lad from the eastern and the western plaza moieties to the plaza, where they are opposed to each other in two parallel lines. The eastern members are led to a house on the east side for their seclusion,

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616 881

and vice versa. Throughout this phase of initiation the boys always appear simultaneously, but separated into these antithetical moieties. All offices during the ceremony are dual, one incumbent representing the eastern, the other the western plaza group.

On the morning of the third day of the closing ceremony of this festival the six groups take up their positions in the plaza, and the novices are decorated with falcon down, each by the maternal uncle from whom he has obtained the names determining his plaza membership. In this ornamentation fellow members of a group aid one another and are subsequently compensated by the kinswomen of the lad they have decorated, receiving a meat pie, which is equitably divided among the group members.

The departure of the plaza groups follows a definite rule: the southernmost group of each moiety moves to join the center group, both together unite with the northern one, whereupon all three simultaneously return to the site of the center group. Thus, there are finally only two companies in the plaza, the plaza moieties, which form the teams for the immediately ensuing symbolical log race with the miniature logs of the souls of the dead (pąrare) (pl. 35, *d*).

Somewhat more varied are the functions of these units in the second phase of initiation, the pepyé festival.

Four days after the seclusion of the pepyé had begun in 1932 the ōōdn group, to which the western class leader belonged, manufactured a pair of special logs, pą'rakahák. Smaller and of lighter weight than the ordinary logs, they were further distinguished by grips projecting from the center of the terminal planes in the direction of the axis. The race track was only about one kilometer in length. The opposing teams were the eastern and western plaza moieties.

Two days later the plaza groups again appeared in the plaza, then they proceeded to erect the cells for the seclusion of each novice in his maternal home. The main part of the work always devolved on the individual novice's maternal uncle, but the entire group helped. [604]

After a three months' seclusion the pepyé were subjected to an inspection. The plaza group members, so far as they were not in seclusion, took up their positions in the plaza, then suddenly dashed simultaneously with loud yells, each group to the home of a secluded member. Penetrating the enclosure of the yard, they took up positions before the rear entrance of the cell. The novice's maternal uncle stepped forward and three times uttered piercing screams, whereupon the boy called came crawling out of the little door. But hardly had he become visible than his uncle again shouted at him, thereby chasing him back indoors. Each group in turn similarly treated its secluded members, whereupon all six companies returned to the plaza, making their exit at a given signal. The seclusion was lifted two days later. [604]

The next morning the pepyé clandestinely arranged a log race among themselves with the pąrare logs of the spirits, members of the eastern and the western plaza moiety being pitted against each other.

Four days later the novices' kinswomen paid the plaza groups for erecting the cells. In front of each house of seclusion they deposited as many carrying baskets as there had been novices within the particular home. The baskets were ostentatiously topped with fruits to a height up to three times that of the containers and were tied to stages of poles to prevent their toppling over. This fee is known as pō. [431]

The baskets remained standing all night. On the following morning the eastern and the western age classes ran a symbolical race with the pąrare, and immediately

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thereupon the several plaza groups carried off their respective fees to the plaza, where the contents were poured out, assorted, and distributed among the members. On the same morning the pepyé had their hair cut and received the paint peculiar to their plaza groups. The novices took up positions in six companies corresponding to the plaza groups, standing on the west side of the village circumference, to the right and left of the former house of seclusion of the eastern class leader. Those not in seclusion appeared on the plaza in the proper order of the groups, ran up to the pepyé affiliated with them, and led them off to the appropriate meeting house. There they were painted by their hąpín with their respective plaza group designs in genipa and red urucú.

This decorative paint, hõkrãkróro, consists of a stripe the width of the hand and composed of certain repetitive ornaments on both sides of the front of the body. The stripes begin on the cheeks at the level of the nose and descend across the neck, breasts, and inguinal region down to approximately the middle of the thigh. At the clavicle a narrower stripe of the same decoration branches off, extending on the anterior surface of the arms down to the middle of the forearm. Each plaza group has its peculiar pattern, but the Giant Snakes display considerable individual variability (fig. 8).

Fig. 8. Decorative painted designs of plaza groups (left to right): Giant Snake, Bat, Carrion Vulture, Armadillo, Dwarf Parrot, Alien Tribe. All solid figures within the frames are red.

Associated with this ornamentation is a burity leafstalk pole (pure) 4–5 m. in length and colored red with urucú; holding this emblem the novices marched to the plaza and sang there.

This plaza grouping is retained on the following days when the pepyé collect their food at their maternal homes every evening after sunset. Each group in a body successively visited the homes of all members; the sum total of the yield, however, was combined without regard to group distinctions at the novices' site in the plaza and equitably distributed among all.

Eight days later, at the closing pepyé ceremony, the pure were replaced by poles of pindahyba wood with pyrographed designs (kukąkaiką'ra = ornamented pindahyba), these emblems being manufactured in the meeting houses of the plaza groups. The novices, holding these poles, marched in two parallel lines around the boulevard, the eastern plaza groups on the left, the western on the right. The procession was headed by the precentor and precentresses, the commandant and the chief acting as masters of ceremonies for the entire festival; beside each pepyé walked his prospective mother-in-law, leading him by a cord round his neck (pl. 40, *a*).

Next the two companies took up positions in the plaza, each on its own side. The pindahyba poles of the eastern groups were united in a bundle and set up on the west side, and vice versa. Then the chief conducting the proceedings uttered a yell, whereupon two down-covered pepyé came rushing out of the meeting houses of the Dwarf Parrots (western) and of the Bats (eastern), each trying to precede the other in knocking down their opponents' sheaf of poles. This closed the pepyé celebration proper.

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616 881 527 Apart from their functions at initiation, the plaza groups likewise figure at the tepyarkwá (Fish Song) festival, for throughout that celebration the east and the west groups run log races. In the solemnities themselves two societies perform—the me'kẽ'n (= Aquatic Birds) or Clowns; and the "Fishes" recruited from the six plaza groups, among whom the Bats are conspicuous.

616 174 182 The contemporary functions of this complex scheme of three eastern and three western groups with distinctive personal names, decorative paint, and meeting houses hardly warrant its existence. I consider it possible that the present plaza groups represent clans formerly localized within the village, that these units fell into genealogical confusion, but retained their ceremonial obligations. The Akwẽ-Šerénte, like the Bororo, have moieties composed of several localized clans with ceremonial functions. Possibly the Timbira moieties shared this feature in earlier times.

Age Classes and Age Moieties

561 The age classes result from the boys' initiation, which accordingly requires discussion from a structural point of view, ceremonial aspects being reserved for treatment in a subsequent section.

561 881 All males pass through an approximately ten-year cycle of initiation. Those jointly initiated form a fixed lifelong age class: no one can resign or join a younger or older class. Thus, apart from the as yet uninitiated boys below, say, ten years of age, all males belong to some age class. In addition, the prospective novices at the next initiation organize in an unofficial class, mimicking so far as possible the youths' activities.

561 The four youngest and athletically active of the recognized classes occupy each a distinct place in the plaza, two on the east and two on the west side. This position automatically shifts with the lapse of time. Two successive entering classes always alternate as to the side of the plaza they enter: if the earlier is admitted on the east, the second inevitably goes to the west side about ten years later. With the appearance of a new class the survivors of the older active class on the same side leave the sport community, passing into the council, that is, into the very center of the plaza. The next older class of the side moves into the site thus vacated, creating in turn a gap that is filled by the newcomers. Ten years or so later the newly founded age class inaugurates a corresponding shift on the complementary side. Since the newcomers always enter on the north side, the transposition is invariably southward.

561 616 In figure 9 the as yet uninitiated boys are represented by a broken circle. The age mates completing initiation in a given year are designated as pepyé (warriors), and their position is marked by a double circle. The admission, shift, and exit of all surviving classes (as of November, 1935) are schematically represented; four classes now extinct figure with Arabic ciphers. It is thus possible to indicate the period of admission of the oldest men now living. However, the mechanism is adequately illustrated by the last three initiations (1913, 1923, 1933). All dates prior to 1923 are only approximate. Generally the span of a cycle is a decade, with positive or negative variations as great as two years.

In 1913 the cycle of age-class D (the present rópkama), which occupied the northwest site in the plaza, came to a close. Hence, the hitherto unofficial class E (the present kapranpotíkama) entered the scene opposite, that is, on the northeast, hitherto occupied by C (the present kokrụ'tkama). Hence C moved to the site of A (the present kukóekama), a class twenty years older and then the oldest of the four classes. Consequently the survivors of A left the racing association, passing into the middle of the plaza to become councilors.

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In 1923 the cycle of E was completed, hence the then boys, F (the present põhjtîkama), acquired the northwest site, opposite E. This precipitated the shift of D to the site of B men (the present prókama), a group twenty years older; and now the surviving B, the oldest of the racing groups, advanced to councilorship.

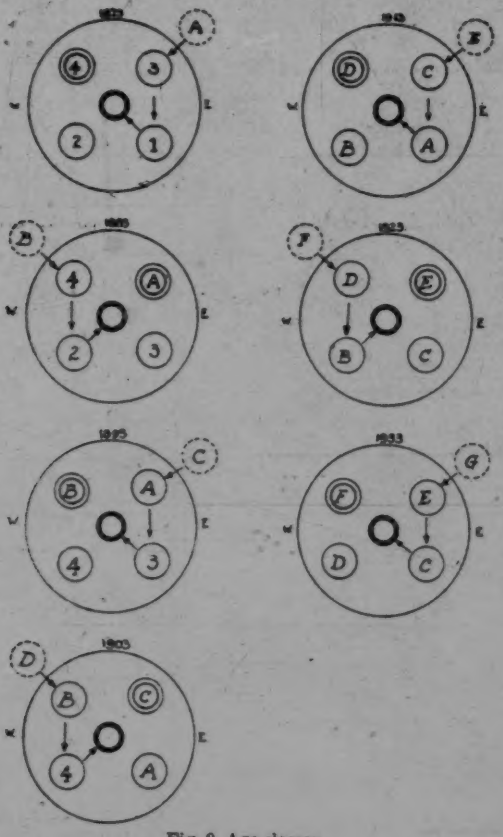

Fig. 9. Age classes.

In 1933 the cycle of F terminated, so that a new class, G (the present kra'tã'-kama), entered on the east side, whereupon the E group–twenty years older—occupied the site of C, which joined the council.

The recent membership for each class is given below, with the year of the completed initiation in parentheses:

Active Classes and Class Moieties

East (kọ'ikateye)	54	West (harã'kateyè)	57
A. kra'tã'kama (uncompleted initiation)	31	B. põhjtîkama (1933)	36
C. kaprąapotîkama (1923)	23	D. rópkama (1913)	21

Council

E. kokrụ'tkama (1903)	8	F. prókama (1893)	4
G. kukóekama (1883)	2	H. ? (1873)	—

616 561 There are thus no more than four active age classes, one pair on the east, the other on the west side. These "moieties" are closely connected with the two vu'tẽ girls and constitute the teams pitted against each other during the ceremonial season. Since each age class includes members of both exogamous moieties, the dual division produced by pairing the classes is of an entirely different order from that of the exogamous moieties. Nevertheless, a single term, mehakrã, is applied to the concept of the class pair and the exogamous moiety; and the moiety units of either type are called by identical names ko ikateye and hara 'kateye, for the east or west moieties, respectively.

616 561 562 527 Girl associates.--The term vu'tẽ designates both the girl associates and the ceremonial season complementary to the meipimra'k period. It is only during the vu'tẽ season that dances and songs are proper in the boulevard; during the meipimra'k they are confined exclusively to the plaza. During the celebration of the great festival of the year the vu'tẽ girls recede into the background, but with its close the activities of the age classes at once begin in the houses of their respective girl auxiliaries and continue until the approach of the rainy season ushers in special solemnities formally closing the season.

The vu'tẽ are chosen at a secret and unobtrusive council meeting held on a cultivated plot some distance from the village. Primarily it is the girls' fathers who are chosen on the basis of the following qualifications:

(a) Each must have a daughter from about seven to ten years of age.

(b) One man must belong to the eastern, the other to the western age-class moiety.

(c) Both men must be industrious and sociable in order to play their part successfully, for the entertainment of the age-class moieties devolves on them, not on the girls' maternal uncles.

(d) Their wives must own diametrically opposite houses, their position as to cardinal directions being immaterial.

The girls retain office until they receive a string girdle (pl. 3, a), that is, about until puberty. Virginity is imperative; if one of the girls loses it during her term of office, she is permitted to serve until the end of the current vu'tẽ period, but at the beginning of the next ceremonial season both girls would be superseded by new appointees. As a rule, the girls remain in office until the close of the second pepyé initiation, so that the incipient age class may start their cycle with new auxiliaries. This was true in 1933 when the põhitĩkama completed their cycle.

A vu'te should be of reserved and staid demeanor; she does not participate in the games girls of her age play in the plaza. 616 561

The eastern age-class moiety assembles in the maternal home of the vu'te whose father is of the western age-class moiety, and vice versa. 562 527

The members of an age-class moiety and their vu'te address one another as brothers and sisters and behave accordingly. When the girl's father puts up or enlarges a dwelling to provide adequate space for the moiety meetings, its members assist him, as they do when he is farming.

The eastern semicircle belongs to the vu'te of the eastern age-class moiety, and vice versa. Victorious racers arriving at the boulevard with their log always run toward the house of their girl associate, whither the losing team must follow them. Sometimes the racers continue running round the boulevard until completely exhausted. Then the victors' vu'te is likely to commiserate the fatigued runners or will bar their way by stepping in their path as they are passing her house, and will touch the log with her hand, whereupon it is immediately dropped.

Relay races and races between two competitors always start in the space before

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561 the house of the challenging team's vṵ'tẹ́'. The course of a relay race is from this house along her semicircle, thence onward. Two competitors theoretically run
616 from the house of the challenger's vṵ'tẹ́' across the plaza to the opponents' vṵ'tẹ́'
562 house. In the present village the ground slopes southward in some measure, so
527 these races always proceed from the house of the vṵ'tẹ́' of the eastern age-class moiety (on the north side of the village) to the vṵ'tẹ́' house of the complementary pair.

561 *Leaders.*—The two official leaders, mamkyĕ'ti, of a class represent, respectively,
551 the eastern and western plaza groups. Before the opening of the first initiation
624 phase they are carefully selected by the councilors from among the prospective initiates. To begin the solemnities these two boys are led out of their mothers' houses and made to face each other in the plaza. Their badge is a fan of erect arara tail feathers worn at the back of the head. In the earlier phase, where the initiates of the eastern and the western plaza groups appear separately, each leader heads his group, all marching in Indian file. In the latter phase, where this dichotomy no longer holds, and after the close of initiation, the leader of the eastern moiety takes precedence.

561 These mamkyĕ'ti form part of a ceremonial aristocracy (p. 97). It is they who
624 actually govern the age classes, being possibly the only functionaries who literally
622 issue orders among the Canella, a task for which they are trained from the beginning. Only they have the right to summon their class fellows, who are obliged to obey the call and may not assemble without their leaders. Anyone who has dealings with a class, including the chiefs, must turn to its mamkyĕ'ti. These leaders are subject only to the council and—during the initiation period—also to the mekapónkate (instructor, commandant), who belongs to an older class, and to his deputy, the mekapónkatekahą́'k, the senior member of the class to be initiated.

In case of a leader's death no substitute is chosen. If both mamkyĕ'ti should die prematurely, the instructor's deputy assumes the leadership, but this is always regarded as a calamity for the class. Theoretically, the leaders are equals, but in practice the abler of the two soon gains ascendancy without, however, completely eclipsing his colleague. In contrast to the chiefs, the mamkyĕ'ti exercise no authority whatever beyond their age class.

561 In former times the mamkyĕ'ti led their class in war and in the chase, though
624 always aided by one or several older men. Since warfare belongs completely to
701 the past and communal hunting has dwindled in importance the present significance of these officers is slight—apart from ceremonial. The present situation for the several classes is as follows:

561 (a) The youngest class, kra'tą́'kama, is actually governed by its mekapónkate.
624 (b) The next older class, põhįtíkama, has two mamkyĕ'ti, but they are completely overshadowed by the personality of Kapĕrtṵ'k, the second commandant and actual leader.
[553]

(c) The kaprąnpotíkama have a very able and energetic leader named Yõ'ro; his colleague is no longer living. During the last pepyé ceremony of this class (1923) Čątú was their instructor; he remained with them after the close of the initiation and from sheer devotion to his pupils continues as their nonofficial commandant. Yõ'ro still continues to regard him as a superior.

(d) The oldest active class, the rópkama, have only one mamkyĕ'ti, Koipõ'ro, the other having died.

616 The term mamkyĕ'ti, evidently connected with kyĕ, exogamous moiety, suggests
174 that the leaders originally represented the exogamous halves rather than the plaza

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moieties; or that their office dates back to a time when these two types of dual division coincided.

Exit from the age class.—When retiring, the kukrų'tkama, men about fifty years old, whose cycle was completed in about 1903, had dwindled to a membership of eight. Their leaders, as well as the deputy instructor, had long been dead, and the class as a unit played only a subordinate social part: meetings were rare and hardly ever fully attended in the proper site of the plaza; and there was little participation in log races. On the other hand, some of them who enjoyed a certain prestige almost regularly appeared in the council. Nevertheless they had by no means forgotten their kukrų'tkama affiliation.

When the pepyé festival of 1932 closed the initiation of the põhįtĩkama, the boys (kra'tã'kama) entering on the northeast side of the plaza, the kukrų'tkama yielded their place to the advancing kapranpotĩkama. Ten days after the festival all the survivors once more assembled in decorative paint and grass costume in order to run their last log race, in which eastern and western age classes were pitted against each other. Subsequently they did not appear jointly except in the council, with the numerically insignificant survivors of two older classes.

Economic role.—Compared with their socioceremonial and sportive importance, the economic activities of the age classes are quite subordinate. No class as such owns any property; even the place of assembly into which the vų'tę''s house is transformed belongs exclusively to her mother. At the opening of a vų'tę' season the members of a class must humbly ask for this woman's permission before starting their performances there. However, there are two occasions on which the classes engage in economic labors, though not in systematic fashion.

In the first place, they build houses for persons otherwise engaged in matters of public concern. Thus, the two junior classes erected the dwelling of a woman whose husband was a tribal delegate in the state capital. Further, even without such compelling motive the class will help a fellow member put up his house. In 1935 I witnessed the hurried erection of a house by the põhįtĩkama, whose deputy instructor's wife was looking forward to her delivery in the near future.

Secondly, age classes assist in harvesting. Since farming is growing in importance every year, the classes play an ever larger part at crop gathering, especially at the anciently nonexistent rice harvest. For meteorological reasons it is essential to harvest this crop as expeditiously as possible; though the prospective beneficiary cannot afford to abandon his crop at this time, he is often expected to attend the commencement of a major festival in the village. For several years it has been customary not to begin the great celebrations before the garnering of the rice, and to obviate delay for the whole settlement, the age classes then help those who are behind schedule. Whoever requires such aid appeals to the councilors to send him the junior age class of his own class moiety. The council decides as to the possibility of such assistance, for the class may already have been requisitioned for other tasks, and communicates the decision to two class leaders. In case of an affirmative reply the young men as a body appear at the appropriate site, for occasional dances accompanied by a number of girls of their own age. Rarely does the class receive any remuneration, consisting in that case of a small share of the crop, which the leaders subsequently arrange to have prepared for all members. As a rule the beneficiary merely feeds her assistants, who, to be sure, by no means overexert themselves, dawdling to such an extent that I was sometimes puzzled to know whether their collaboration was worth while. However, toward the end of the rice harvest they are constantly occupied.

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The festive societies and the King Vultures (p. 98 f.) render similar assistance to *their* members.

But while the growth of agriculture adds to the practical work of the classes, there is diminution by the lessening importance of the communal hunts and the complete elimination of war raids.

Corrections.—Some of my own earliest statements, as well as some of Snethlage's, require explicit correction.[178]

The complete initiation requires not three to five, but about ten years; the number of class leaders is two, not one; not the three, but the four youngest classes are actively engaged in sport; the terms kõ'ikateyẽ and harãkateye do not—in this connection—designate the exogamous moieties, but their namesakes, the eastern and western class moieties; the classes meet in the houses of their vụ'tẹ', not of their commandants.

It is quite wrong to speak, as Snethlage does, of a "men's tribal society" into which boys and youths are admitted after numerous tests and ceremonies. The total number of age classes is indefinite, and their totality does not constitute one grand organization. Further, the commandants do not form the elders' council which is really made up of the survivors of no longer athletically active classes, irrespective of their previous incumbency as commandants. As already explained, an exogamous moiety is not headed by "the commandant of its (!) age class," for it has no headman at all. Finally, it is thoroughly confusing to say that a married man continues to take part in the activities of his age class, "*which does not admit his wife's brothers.*" Since the classes have nothing to do with the exogamous moieties but are each composed of age mates of *both* moieties, a man and his brothers-in-law may very well belong to a single class.

The Men's Societies[179]

There are six organized men's societies, which appear only during certain festivals. They are: rop, Jaguars; kukén, Agoutis; koikayú, Ducks; hąk, Falcons; kõkrị't, Water Monster (masqueraders); me'kẽ'n, Aquatic Birds (buffoons). For convenience the last two may be referred to as Mummers and Clowns, respectively.

Possibly the Fish companies at the tepyarkwá festival and the hõčwá at the sweet-potato ceremony might also be reckoned under this head. Not so the King Vultures, who must be put into a different category (p. 98).

The societies are referred to as me'kwẹ', a term also applied to the age classes. A man will say, "meikwẹ' pẽ kukén," I belong to the Agouti society. Usually a society has some thirty members. Except for the Clowns, the organizations are entered by virtue of one's names (p. 77). Many Indians simultaneously belong to more than one society, but in that case the several societies are usually such as are not obliged to appear at the same time. For instance, one Tunkõ' is a Falcon, a Jaguar, and a Mummer. In addition he also served as a substitute for the Little Falcon in the terminal ceremony of the vụ'tẹ' season and was head of the King Vultures.

Each society has a head appointed by the council and called hõpa'hí, like the tribal chiefs. He is chosen for his gaiety and eloquence, being expected to infuse life into the festive proceedings.

Though women are not admitted to regular membership, each society has two girl associates, mekuičwẹ'i. There is no indication that they anciently represented

[178] Nimuendajú, Bruchstücke, 671. Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 167, 169, 170.

[179] These societies evidently are quite distinct in function from the Šerente men's organizations. See Nimuendajú, The Šerente, 59–64. R. H. L.

1[i.e. collective labor in harvesting --- Analyst.]

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chief Ropkᵱ', and opposite him chief Kukrãčᵱ', who calls Ropkᵱ' his uncle, was delivering the funeral oration. When the women put the corpse on Ropkᵱ''s lap he began to cry aloud and desperately, while Kukrãčᵱ' rose and went to the plaza to arrange for the digging of the grave. In the meantime the boy's maternal uncle who was to have transferred his name to the child arrived on the scene, likewise took the corpse on his lap, and fell to crying violently. Kentapí called my attention to the fact that neither she nor her mother took hold of the corpse lest the child of her sister Iromkré, who was still in her lying-in retreat, should cry constantly.

In the plaza the chief asks who wishes to dig the grave. A volunteer always comes forward, but it must not be a member of the dead man's exogamous moiety. The mode of remunerating his and the corpse decorators' services has been described (p. 102).

Formerly, when secondary burial was still in vogue, the deceased was first buried behind his mother's home, except for a hąmren (p. 98). When I visited the Krahõ' in 1930, these Indians seemed to have still maintained the custom of burial behind the house; the Rąmkõ'kamekra of today would at most follow it in the case of an infant.

The grave is more or less 2 meters in depth. Formerly it was round, and the corpse was put in there in a sitting posture, facing east.[Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 152.] At present, at least among the Rąmkõ'kamekra, the grave is exclusively rectangular, the corpse lying extended on its back.

If the death occurs in the morning, the burial takes place in the evening; if a person dies in the evening, he is buried the following morning and there is an all-night lament near the corpse. If the deceased man's prominence draws many related persons to the spot, a kinsman kills a pig, which is hurriedly prepared for the entertainment of those present. Part of the food is then put in a gourd for the dead man, an elderly woman several times holding a morsel close to his mouth.

The mats on which the corpse rests are folded over it and tied firmly at both ends and in the middle. Then the bundle is hung to a pole, which two men carry to the cemetery—at present from one and a half to two kilometers from the village. A few additional mats are taken along for the adjustment of the grave. None of the Timbira tribes throws earth directly on the corpse, as reported for the Põrekamekra by Pohl, who does not, however, seem to have attended a funeral; and the grave described by Ribeiro was presumably not a Timbira's, as he assumes, but that of a Gamella of Vianna.[Pohl, Reise, 2:197. Snethlage, Nordostbras, 172. Pohl, Reise, 2:197. Ribeiro, Memoria, § 26–28.] The opening of the grave is covered with transversely laid pieces of wood, which are topped with mats before heaping up earth. Lest the heat of the sun annoy the deceased, twigs and palm fronds are put on this mound; sometimes the grave is fenced with old racing logs to keep out roaming domestic pigs. (See pl. 26, *b*).

At least nowadays there are no funeral deposits except that a woman's carrying basket may be laid on her mound along with a gourd bowl, her spindle, and the like.

The next of kin never accompany the corpse to its grave, but remain seated in the house of mourning, weeping probably another half hour at the empty spot where it had been resting. Then they have themselves sprinkled with water in front of the house "in order to remove the dead man's perspiration," a service which is paid for. The house and the space before it are always swept.

Like the Apinayé,[Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 152.] the Canella believe that the shadow of a person who dies "hungry," that is, has not for some time prior to his demise taken any food, will return to his mother's home in search of sustenance. Their procedure is quite like

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526 organization of teamwork. In contrast to the Apinayé, these people make not the slightest effort to improve inferior achievements in log racing.[99]

554 The champion racers (mehitų'i) are esteemed and enjoy a certain prestige, but no special prerogatives or insignia.

The following is the constitution of the opposing sides:

526 1. During the ceremonial season it is in general the two western age classes that
● 616 are pitted against the eastern pair. This arrangement still holds if a ketúaye or
561 pepyé festival is held that year.

561 2. The pąrakahą'k race at the beginning of the pepyé seclusion is exceptional in
575 that the western plaza groups compete with the eastern ones. For further exception, see below under 7.

3. During the entire course of a pepkahą'k celebration the Duck society races against the Falcons. At the close of this festival the Clowns, the King Vultures, and the pepkahą'k themselves side with the Falcons.

4. During a tepyarkwá the eastern run against the western plaza groups; or, in the simpler form of the festival, the eastern and western age classes oppose each other.

5. During the Mummers' festival the Mummers and the Agoutis race against the Jaguars.

6. The Agoutis, aided by the Clowns, also oppose the Jaguars at the termination celebration of every ceremonial season.

7. During the meipimrą'k season the ką' are pitted against the atų'k.

526 In former times there also seems to have been competition between members of
628 different tribes; and since the performers would clandestinely bring along weapons and hide them somewhere en route—a thing that never happened in intratribal contests—dangerous brawls resulted. I heard of instances apparently dating back some forty to fifty years. The Apąnyekra, then far more numerous than now, would come to visit the Rąmkō'kamekra, manufacturing logs at a suitable distance from the village and then issuing their challenge. Since there was always some bad blood between these tribes, the race would terminate in sanguinary fighting.

526 On certain occasions the bigger girls and young women likewise race with logs;
881 but while the annual number of men's races far exceeds a hundred, I know of only
562 the following four occasions that involve a feminine race as part of the programme:

1 and 2. When at the close of each phase of initiation a tamed wild pig is killed and prepared for eating, a log race is arranged. The simultaneously racing men are grouped according to eastern and western age classes, to which units there is no feminine parallel. Accordingly the matrilineal kinswomen of members of the eastern age classes compete with those of the western classes.

3. According to a corresponding principle the several feminine log-race teams at the tepyarkwá festival are recruited from matrilineal kinswomen of the eastern and western plaza moieties.

4. At the opening of the meipimrą'k season there is a log race for girls and women. Since the dual division of this period embraces both sexes, the organization into teams automatically follows for both.

526 Although the girls and women are always granted a considerable handicap in
562 competition with the youths and men, they are invariably soon overtaken. The women's logs are manufactured by the men and often made too heavy. Four times I witnessed the desperate, but vain efforts by the women to carry their logs into the village unaided; they were especially baffled by the downtrodden sand of the

[99] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 74.